2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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852 On this date the priest blesses the child again, while offerings are made to the family shrine, to the sun, and to the evil spirits.

The well-to-do make a big occasion of the first birthday and give a banquet with theatrical performances, but it is a rule for all to give a shadow-play as a part of the ceremonies. After the

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first anniversary less attention is paid to birthdays; the third year has a special significance and perhaps the mother will make some offerings in subsequent years, but grown people forget about them and soon lose track of their ages.

553 On his first birthday the child receives his magic name from the priest, who writes various propitious names, obtained through a divination, on pieces of palm-leaf which he burns. The name given to the child is that which can be made out most clearly from the charred remains, or the one that takes the longest time to burn. This is a secret name that no one ever hears and soon

● 551 even the father forgets it. A baby is simply called " the child of

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so-and-so," but eventually he is given a personal name by his parents. Even this name has an influence over his life and should he become sick often, the name is to blame and a more appropriate one is chosen by the priest or the witch-doctor. Boys and girls are called by their names, but it would be poor manners to do so after the child has grown up. A personal name is private property and it is always patronizing to call a person by his name. High-caste people keep their names secret and go through life called only by their caste titles.

Most commonly used are the words that refer to the order of a person's birth: the first child of Sudras is called *Wayang; Putú* or *Gedé* for high castes; the second child is *Madé* or *Nengah*; the third is *Nyoman*; and the fourth is *Ktut*. The order is repeated for subsequent children. Satrias add the word *Ngurah* to their other titles to indicate the purity of their descent (for example, Anak Agung Ngurah Gedé). The words for father (*bapa*) and mother (*memé*) have a very elastic application; every uncle and aunt is called *bapa* and *memé*, and every cousin is a brother or sister, but a well-bred young man calls his father gurú ("teacher"). Elderly people are called grandfather (*pekak*) or grandmother (*dadong*) as a sign of respect in the same way that a young man calls his older friends "elder brother" (*bli*), while a girl is called "sister" (*embok*). After a Sudra couple have children their name changes to "Father or Mother of so-and-so." Our servant Dog, the father of little Muluk, was called Panmuluk and his wife was known as Menmuluk. Gusti's wife, a woman of high caste, was called Gusti Rake, but after she became the mother of Gusti Gede she became known as Gusti Biang Rake, *biang* being a polite term for "mother."

From the time the child can walk, he is left to himself and falls in the care of other children. Small girls know how to take care of babies with the same proficiency as their mothers and it is common to see babies carried on the hips of girls only slightly older. The child learns early to be self-sufficient and is free to wander all over the village and to do as he pleases. A child is

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

Rendah has one wife, Rieh, who has borne him nine children. Three of these died in infancy. His eldest, a girl, he has just given in marriage to her paternal parallel second cousin, the eldest son of Gari, Rendah's own paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, I). This girl, Tingglih, has "followed her husband," and now lives across the street in the house of her father-in-law Gari. Only five children remain in Rendah's house.

Rendah himself was one of eight children, also borne to his father by one wife (fig. 2, II). The children, in the order of their birth, receive title-names, as follows:

Wajan—First-born
Madé—Second-born
Njoman—Third-born
Ketoet—Fourth-born.

If there are more than four children the series begins over again, and the fifth child is Wajan, the sixth Madé, etc. Every djabă must have one of these title-names, which precedes his given name. The given name is chosen by a system of divination through fire, from a group of names suitable to a child born on a certain day of the astrological calendar. It is rarely used, except to children and to inferiors in age and in social status. To use the title-name is always more polite, and compulsory for inferiors in age and in social status. Thus Rendah, although he is the eldest son, was the fourth-born of his family. He is called Ketoet by his equals, or I Ketoet Rendah when they are speaking about him, to distinguish him from other Ketoets. After the birth of his first child he is called 'Pan Tingglih,[1] father of Ting-

[1] 'Pan is the abbreviation of bapan, from bapă, father, with the possessive -n. In certain mountain districts the old word 'nang, shortened from nanang, father, is used. Similarly bibi for mother or aunt, is sometimes found instead of the usual mémé. On the island of Noesă Penidă, belonging to Bali but with a distinctive dialect, bibi and bébé are in use for mother and aunt as well as mémé, and maman for paternal or maternal uncle, reserving nanang for the biological father. In Balinese classical literature paman is used for uncle and as a familiar form of address to older men (as a young prince speaking to his father's minister). In Malay paman may be used in the latter way, though its original meaning is maternal uncle. Iboe, mother, and jajah or adji, father, occur also in the literature. Iboe and adji are current high Balinese, and biang, mother, is found among high-caste people used as a title-name. Keramă is another old form for mother, found in the texts. Kaki, grandfather, appears in the literature more often than the current pekak. Nini and néné, old forms for grandmother, are rarely found outside the texts. Nini is still in use as the name for the rice-goddess of the harvest ritual, although apparently not universally known.

Koeranan is used for both husband and wife. The words moewani, male, and loeh, female, are commonly substituted in low Balinese for husband and wife. In high Balinese they are lanang, male, and istri, female; istri has come to have a more definite meaning of wife, although high-caste Balinese have many different words, as rabi, wife, prami swami, consort (of

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

glih, and this appellation is still more polite and proper to be used by strangers, equals, and inferiors. All his younger brothers and cousins call him bli, elder brother. His own children, his nephews, and the children of his first and second cousins on both the male and the female sides call him bapă, father. In speaking of him, the children of his younger brothers and cousins may call him oeă, elder uncle (or aunt). His wife generally calls him bli, elder brother, or Ketoet, his title-name, and sometimes even bapă, as the father of her children. She, as his inferior, may not call him by his given name, Rendah. But he may call her by her given name, although he is more likely to use her title name, or to call her mémé, mother. When Tingglih's first child is born, Rendah and Rieh will be known as Pekak —— and Dadong ——, Grandfather of —— and Grandmother of —— followed by the given name of the child. Thus a man's own name tends to die out even during his own lifetime, as he grows older, and there is no one left to "speak down" to him. During this investigation I asked Rendah for the name of his own mother, who lives in the house with him. He could not remember, and was forced to inquire of the old lady herself. Her husband, Rendah's father, had been dead only six months. He alone of the household had the right to call her by her given name, and if Rendah could not remember it, the old man must not have availed himself of the right for many years.

Rendah's eldest sister, Wajan Koti, was married, and later "thrown away." She returned to her father's house. As Rendah has inherited house and household, she now lives within his courts, sharing in the work of the women.

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prince), penawing, wife from lower caste, and sang keringan, concubine ("married to the kris" when already pregnant). (Princes may take concubines without marriage ceremonies, but if a concubine is going to bear the prince a child, the ceremonies are carried out with the substitution of the prince's kris, borne by his high priest, in place of the bridegroom—so that the child may be made legitimate, although the mother is of lower caste.)

Brothers, sisters, and all relatives are called njamă (low) or semotonan (high). Elder brothers and sisters are called kakă. To address an older sister, or in polite usage any female older than one's self, mbok is used; to address younger brothers, sisters, or relatives, or in speaking of them, adi is used.

Child in the sense of "the child of ——" is pianak. For "a child" or "children," there is no word. Anak tjenik (polite) or anak tjerik (familiar) are substituted, which mean simply "small man." Anak in Malay means child in either of the above senses, but in Balinese it means man or person, as anak Bali, a Balinese, anak loeh, a woman.

Grandchildren are called tjoetjoe, great-grandchildren kelab or boejoet. Male and female great-grandparents are called koempi or koempiang.

Finally there are the terms matoeă, father-in-law, mantoe, son-in-law, and ipah, used for either brother- or sister-in-law.

MK [214 cont.]
551 not want to mention his title out of modesty. Pu, which perhaps has been adopted from the Javanese, is used in the same way. This pu becomes pung before a guttural, pum before a labial, and pun before a dental, hence, Pung kareke, Pum panai, Pun dowang, etc. In Buginese the Makassarese i is sometimes used before masculine names, but usually before feminine names. More generally, however, la is used for men and we for women, for example, La Moehamma, La Padoma, We Potinia (5). The Balinese

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5. Matthes, Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, p. 24. Matthes, Boegineesche Spraakkunst, pp. 98 and 100.

use Li for this, pronounced i.

A similar prefix is ra (6), which still occurs in the Javanese

6. Van der Tuuk, op. cit., p. 253. Van der Tuuk, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 134, note 2. Kern, Kawi studiën, p. 127. Kern, Wrtta Sancaya, p. 126. Müller, Sprachwissenschaft [Linguistics], pp. 114-115.

danhjang or ranhjang (7).

7. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 315.

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553 [215] The choice of the name, or the determination of it, is usually done by the father, or it is done wholly arbitrarily without any rules. Among some peoples, however, this is always left to chance, for example, among the Dajak, where the oldest,
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553 married male relatives stick some palm-length pieces of rattan upright in a bowl of uncooked rice, giving arbitrary names to them. Then they take the bowl to the mother of the child to be